

Joe Bustillos
COMM 427
October 12, 1989

Joe: I would prefer "complete thoughts" in the outline. For next time

Oral Presentation: The Mexican-American & The News Media

The 1967 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders & The Role of the media:

A short history of the media coverage afforded the Chicano community:

Mexican-American Community Ignored Except When Troublesome:

The Press' Reaction When The Chicano Community Speaks Out:

What Is Important To The Chicano Community Is Ignored:

The White Man's Bias:

The Problem of Assimilation:

Two Fundamental Beliefs In The News Media:

Objectivity And "The American Way":

Reality & Objectivity:

Assimilate Or Segregate:

The Mexican Americans Engaged in the News Media

This is clearly your piece.

How do you relate your community on walls + media to your stated on Chicano press relationship?

Very powerful presentation! You make your points well. Very well researched and given with understandable passion! A huge area of needed change.

(290)

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Church, George. "Hispanics: A Melding of Cultures." Time, July 8, 1985, p. 36. An example of typical news-magazine agenda journalism. "The numbers have become too much to ignore so let's run a 'Mexicans in America' story." The piece certainly won't offend anyone but it feels just like a story that they might run on a particularly interesting beetle colony in Peru.

Coblenz, Edmond D., ed. Newsmen Speak. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954). This book is a good source for quotations from the early modern journalists about their ideals and ethics with regards to the newspaper profession.

Coughey, Bernard. "Newspapers and Color Blindness: an address by Thomas Winship." Editor & Publishers, October 27, 1984, p. 44. A positive speech about the future of Minorities in journalism.

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Freedman, Samuel G. "Los Lobos: They Draw On Their Heritage To Portray the Chicano Community. They Also Play Some Pretty Mean Rock & Roll." Rolling Stone, March 26, 1987, p. 86. A good example of a feature story about life in East L.A. No condescending questions or gaffes, the writer shares a real sensitivity to the musicians' cross-cultural existence.

Gutierrez, Felix. "Latinos and the Media" in Readings in Mass Communications: Concepts & Issues in the Mass Media. 5th edition. eds., Micheal Emery and Ted Curtis. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1983). Gutierrez re-examines the involvement of Latinos and the Latino community in mass media. He feels that the Latino has had a significant

effect on the news media but is not understood by the establishment news executives that control the media.

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Marzolf, Marion and Melba Tolliver. Kerner Plus 10: Minorities and the Media, A Conference Report. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1977) Very long and boring, but not as long as the actual government document itself.

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Omi, Michael. "In Living Color: Race and American Culture." Cultural Politics in Contemporary America. Ian Angus and Sut Jhally, eds. (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1989). Excellent article on how racism in the media has become subliminal and out of "ignorance" rather than overt and heated.

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-----, "Success in U.S. Stranger in Land of His Roots." U.S. News & World Report, August 19, 1985, p. 41. Rodrigues reflects on the uncomfortable position of encountering ones past heritage. This short essay clearly described the problems encountered when a second generation Mexican-American wanders back across the border and lets his mind ask those questions of fate.

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years to a search for ethnic identity---it is a diary of "la marcha de la Reconquista. The author vividly depicts the fear and helplessness, the brutality and raw-racism of the police, the bitter sense of betrayal from a man who had risked his life for his country in Southeast Asia and now was paid back with second class citizenship. It approaches the early Chicano movement on a personal level which dovetails nicely with Lewels' academic The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement. It also is a good bookends with Rodriguez's Hunger of Memory. A good alternate view that has seemed to have been lost in the intervening years.

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United States. Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). Government documents are never a breeze to read and this one is no exception. This document, however, is a good source for depicting the concern that white America had for the violence that was growing across the nation.



Salsa beat and 96-degree heat: Last week's 17th annual Hispanic Festival draws 200,000 culture-conscious revelers in nation's capital

For Latinos, a growing divide

Hispanics increasingly belie America's tradition of the melting pot

■ They came in jampacked boats from Castro's Cuba, on foot from destitute villages of Mexico, by bus and plane from war-torn El Salvador, all seeking the lavish America they'd seen in movies and magazines. Yet for many of the millions of Hispanics who immigrated to the United States in the past decade, the "good life" of middle-class America seems more and more a remote fantasy. Instead of finding decent jobs and a land where every child can be President, most found grinding poverty and a nation that, all too often, still shuns foreigners.

The widening gulf between the barrio and the rest of the U.S. was dramatically underscored last week by a University of Chicago study, which found that Hispanic schoolchildren—unlike black students—are now far more likely to attend segregated schools than they were 20 years ago (see chart). And figures released last week by the Census Bureau showed

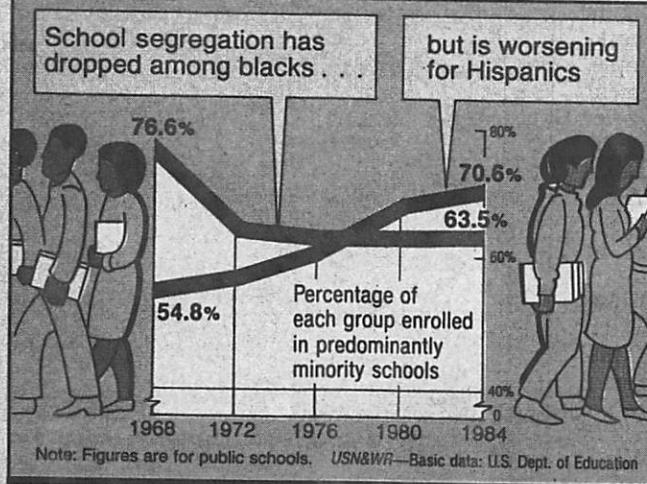
that the number of Hispanics living in poverty, 5.1 million, climbed by almost 500,000 during the last three years of economic recovery, while the number of blacks in poverty dropped sharply. Indeed, last year, 27.3 percent of all Hispanics were poor, making poverty almost as prevalent among Latinos as

among blacks. With the Hispanic population expected to double in the next 35 years, the deepening privation and isolation of Latinos have even stirred troubling comparisons with the Jim Crow era. "Nothing in our history suggests we can run an effective separate-but-equal system of education," warns Gary Orfield, a political scientist who wrote the University of Chicago study. "Yet now we're building another one."

Packing the schools

In the view of some community leaders, many of the problems confronting Hispanics begin and end in the classroom. Immigration and the tendency to have large families swelled the Hispanic community (now 7 percent of the U.S. population) so much that the number of Latino public-school students shot up 80 percent from 1968 to 1984. As a result, crammed schools with few resources are now standard in Latino communities. One predominantly Mexican American

CLASS DISTINCTIONS





Into the mainstream: English is a must for Hispanic firefighters seeking information on a fire that hit an Anglo-American's home in Austin

ism. "It's a classic xenophobic reaction," warns La Raza's Kamasaki. Others see the English-first movement as an affront to their patriotism. "In World War II, more Hispanics won Medals of Honor than any other ethnic group," says Democratic Representative Matthew Martinez, a former Marine who represents part of Los Angeles. "How much blood do you have to spill before you prove you are a part of something?"

Even though they're often viewed as an undifferentiated mass, Hispanics are in fact quite diverse. Some groups, like the upper-crust, politically conservative Cubans who fled to Miami when Fidel

Castro came to power, have done well. On the whole, Cubans are only slightly more likely to be poor than is the typical American family. Pedro Marinello-Villate, who lived with his parents and nine siblings in a two-bedroom house in Miami after arriving from Cuba in 1961, now helps run a prosperous family accounting firm. He and his brothers and sisters all went to college because, says Pedro, "education was one thing even Castro couldn't take away."

By contrast, Puerto Ricans may well be America's next underclass. More than 2 out of 5 Puerto Rican families are poor or headed by single women, many of them clustered in New York's

grim ghettos. Puerto Ricans, unlike the hard-driving Cuban immigrants, arrive as American citizens. And since they aren't locked out of their homeland, they often don't feel forced to make it on the U.S. mainland.

Hope for the children

In the end, the fate of the Hispanic population rests mostly with Mexican immigrants, who constitute more than 60 percent of the U.S. Latino population. Though many recent arrivals are poor and illiterate, Mexicans are renowned for their hard work and modest use of welfare. Most Mexican children, moreover, grow up in two-parent families. As they acquire more skills in English, and as immigration reform slows the influx of new immigrants, experts anticipate that future generations will outstrip their parents.

In a nation where there has never been a Hispanic cabinet officer, and where only two Hispanic women are on the boards of the *Fortune* 1,000, that would be a welcome development. In recent years, a handful of Hispanics have won statewide political offices, but few experts expect Latinos to be a potent political force until they register in greater numbers and show up at the polling booth. When that day comes, fewer Hispanics may think enviously of returning to their homeland—and more may share the feelings of Miami's Marinello-Villate: "Although I have Cuban blood, I am more American in some ways than Cuban." ■

by David Whitman with Maureen Walsh and Lisa J. Moore, Ronald A. Taylor in New York, Michael Bosc in Chicago, Marilyn Moore and Luisa Yanez in Miami and Eric Mankin in Los Angeles

merely creating another top-10 single. He is taking a Mexican artifact, adding an American twist to it and providing something new, something decisively Hispanic.

A look at life

The legend is going over big with Hispanics and Anglos alike. The movie, which cost a paltry \$6.5 million, did excellent business in its first week.

"La Bamba" is the first major motion picture of the decade to focus exclusively on Chicano daily life and culture, and writer-director Luis Valdez makes the most of a rare opportunity to recast the cultural image of Hispanics in an attractive guise.

His Ritchie is the kind of

saintly all-American boy whose like has not been seen on the screen in many a year. The film begins at a farm, where the sweat of Chicano migrant workers glistens photogenically in the sun. Later, a Kodak-commercial-like home movie featuring Ritchie and his family offers a sentimental view of the deep Hispanic family bonds.

Valdez rejects the idea that the movie's commercial success has all that much to do with its portrait of Chicano life. He attributes it to the "universality" of the story of Ritchie Valens.

Still, he does believe that "economic vitality for Hispanics is directly related to the way they're perceived on television and in the movies. In order to

get an accurate portrait, there has to be a certain sensitivity."

The commercial success of "La Bamba" points the way toward more stories of Hispanic assimilation, acculturation or the lack thereof. It is, after all, the classic American drama, and it is being played out not only by Chicanos but by Cubans and Puerto Ricans as well.

The new ethnicity

Hollywood, which holds religiously to the view that today's audiences are, by and large, uninterested in social drama, has been neglecting one of the great stories of the decade. "The fact that 'La Bamba' has been accepted by audiences who don't even know any Hispanics shows that it's really

about American values," says the film maker.

It also provides the popular culture with a much needed booster shot of colorful ethnicity. And it does so without the raucousness and obviousness that has characterized most previous portrayals, from ludicrously Yiddish-accented Jews to faith-and-begorra Irishmen who believe in leprechauns.

"The ethnic stereotypes that Hollywood has produced are so old and so decrepit that they're not even profitable any more," Valdez says. "La Bamba" has moved into a vacuum, and people are treating it as a breath of fresh air."

by John Podhoretz

school in southwest Chicago is so strapped for space that a pilot computer program set to begin in September may be deferred because there's no room for the newly purchased computers. Of 36 schools listed as overcrowded by the Chicago school board, 33 are in Hispanic neighborhoods. Nationwide, the picture is just as bleak: Fewer than half of all Latinos are high-school graduates, and Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans have some of the highest dropout rates in the nation. "We're talking about a whole generation of kids who may be wasted—kids without the skills to contribute economically," says Charles Kamasaki of the National Council of La Raza, a Hispanic lobbying group.

Not surprisingly, Kamasaki and others cite language as a chief culprit. Coming primarily from nations with agricultural economies, many Latinos historically have treated schooling casually. With a fresh flow of Spanish-speaking immigrants from Mexico and Latin America continually replenishing the barrios, the pressure to learn English is diminished. Today, more than half of all Latino adults are functionally illiterate in English.

"English is a must"

In and of itself, a problem with English is not unusual among ethnic groups. Earlier waves of immigrants also struggled to learn the language, and there's little evidence that Hispanics learn English more slowly than previous immigrants. What has changed is that today it's much more important to master English and complete high school. "At the turn of the century, you could drop out of school at 14 and it didn't matter," says Harry Pachon of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials. "In today's technological society, English is a must." Pachon and others argue that the shutdown of factories across the nation and the explosive growth of service jobs—for janitors, cashiers, busboys and the like—have locked illiterate Hispanics into menial, dead-end work. In the past 12 months, for example, Hispanics took an impressive 19 percent of the new jobs created in the U.S., yet many of those positions represented the dregs of the job market. The burden is especially heavy for darker-skinned Latinos, who are sometimes stereotyped by employers as drug smugglers or knife-wielding gang members.

To some extent, the isolation of Hispanics is self-willed rather than imposed from without. Like immigrants who preceded them, Hispanics treasure their ethnic enclaves, ranging from the vital Salvadoran community in the Adams-Morgan neighborhood of Washington, D.C., to the massive Mexican



Silvia Villate, holding granddaughter, has seen many of her 10 children become "Yuccas," young up-and-coming Cuban Americans, since coming to Miami in 1961

barrio of East Los Angeles. "My precincts are overwhelmingly Mexican, and I like it just fine," says William Velasquez of the San Antonio-based Southwest Voter Registration Project.

Integration might also threaten bilingual-education initiatives. In Chicago, officials recently encouraged Hispanic parents to enroll their children in schools outside their neighborhoods but found few takers. "Hispanic parents fought long and hard to get bilingual programs into neighborhood schools," notes Linda G. Coronado, a member of the school board. "After all the sweat and tears, they don't want their kids sent off to a school that may not have the services."

Indeed, no issue more clearly capsulizes the uneasy ambivalence with which Hispanics and Americans view each other than the growing English-only movement. Last November, California voters passed a referendum making English the official language of the state. Now, more than 37 state legislatures are considering similar measures, double the total last year. So far, however, the English-first movement has produced more smoke than fire, failing, for the most part, to curb bilingual-education programs or special services such as bilingual ballots. Rightly or wrongly, most Hispanic leaders see the campaign as a dangerous sign of American nativ-

Hollywood blends rock 'n' roll and the Mexican wedding dance

'La Bamba' is no bomb



"La Bamba" stars: Decisively Hispanic

Sooner or later, Hollywood provides every ethnic group with a tailor-made show-biz legend. Hispanics now have theirs. The hot new movie "La Bamba" is in part the story of the short, happy, successful life of 1950s rocker Ritchie Valens (né Valenzuela) and in part a delicate, romanticized rendering of the daily lives of Mexican Americans in the late 1950s.

It is also a picture-perfect portrait of cultural assimilation. When Valens takes the traditional Mexican wedding song "La Bamba" and adds rock-'n'-roll riffs to it, he is not

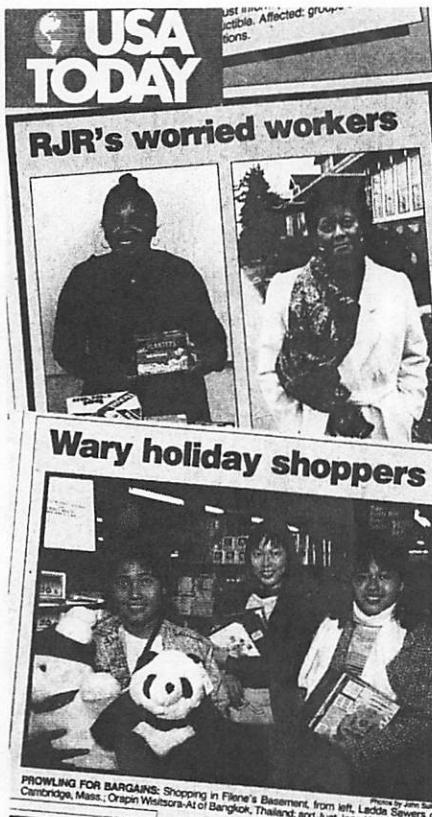
Aiming Beyond White Readers

Gannett weaves minority voices into the news

Well-intentioned newspaper executives have long bemoaned their generally poor record in recruiting minorities. Now they are discovering a compelling reason to hire minority reporters and give more space to minority issues: the bottom line. As the country's growing racial diversity is reflected in newspaper readership studies, news executives are realizing that they must appeal to minority readers or risk losing them.

The Quincy *Patriot Ledger* (circ. 87,000), for example, has hired three Chinese-speaking reporters and a photographer to improve the paper's coverage of the Boston suburb's fast-growing Asian community. But editor William Ketter, who is chairman of the minorities committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, believes newspapers have to go further. They must, he insists, make a "deliberate and conscious effort" to reflect the diversity of their communities in every part of the paper, including graphics and comic strips.

No news organization has embraced this ethic more enthusiastically than Gannett, the nation's largest newspaper chain and publisher of *USA Today*. Credited with one of the industry's best records for hiring and promoting minorities and women at its 88 daily newspapers, Gannett has mounted a campaign to combat



Stories that avoid "insidious stereotyping"

Is it affirmative action or tokenism?

what Charles Overby, the vice president for news, calls "the insidious stereotyping that tends to take place by white male managers."

Known as mainstreaming, the Gannett policy urges editors and reporters to include minorities in stories in which their race, sex or ethnic background are unrelated. For example, quoting a black

professor in a story about Black History Month does not qualify, but citing a black economist in a story about the budget deficit does. "Mainstreaming," explains Overby, "is affirmative action in the news columns."

Gannett editors are encouraged to include photographs of minorities and women on their front pages, and several Gannett papers have compiled handouts for reporters listing minority sources. Each year reporters are evaluated on their performance in a number of different categories, including "news of minorities." The company offers an annual All-American award to the paper that has done the best job of weaving minorities into its pages.

Most Gannett reporters give their bosses high marks for sensitivity, but some are worried that such high-pressure incentives can lead to the worst type of tokenism. "To put a black face on the front page because you haven't had a black face on the front page for three weeks, that's insulting," says *USA Today* reporter Mike McQueen. Others say the push to represent minorities in mainstream stories too often replaces solid minority coverage. "Mainstreaming won't persuade minorities to buy the paper if we don't cover them and their issues," says one reporter.

But Gannett editors stress that mainstreaming should never conflict with sound news judgment. "You don't have to compromise to follow this policy," says *USA Today* editor Peter Prichard. "It's just a question of trying to broaden your vision." With a smaller percentage of white male readers in its future, Gannett has clearly seen the light.

—By Laurence Zuckerman

Reported by Naushad S. Mehta/New York

Milestones

SEPARATED. Raquel Welch, 48, sex goddess of the '60s and '70s; and André Weinfeld, 41, French director-writer-producer-photographer; after eight years of marriage. Welch cited the strain of a bicoastal relationship as the reason for the amicable parting.

RESIGNED. Kiichi Miyazawa, 69, as Japan's Finance Minister, a post he held for two years, and as Deputy Prime Minister; in Tokyo. One of the nation's leading politicians, Miyazawa was forced to step down when his involvement in a drawn-out stock-dealing scandal threatened passage of the Takeshita government's cherished package of tax reforms. Opposition leaders in the Japanese parliament refused to resume debate on the tax legislation until Miyazawa supplied proof of his innocence in the stock transaction.

HOSPITALIZED. William Brennan, 82, the oldest and one of the most liberal Justices on the U.S. Supreme Court; for pneumonia; at the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Md. Brennan, who left his chambers suffering from a fever and chills, is being treated with antibiotics.

DIED. Roy Orbison, 52, rock-'n'-roll trailblazer who wrote and recorded pop classics, from the wrenching ballad *Only the Lonely* (1960) to the sublime *Oh, Pretty Woman* (1964); of a heart attack; in Hendersonville, Tenn. Known for his trademark dark shades, jet-black garb and a multi-octave voice that ranged from a sensuous growl to an ethereal soprano, Orbison was in the midst of a comeback when he died. An album he recorded with the Traveling Wilburys, a group that includes Bob Dylan and George Harrison, is No. 8

on the *Billboard* charts; a solo album, *Mystery Girl*, is slated for release early next year.

DIED. Charles Saxon, 68, a *New Yorker* cartoonist whose work satirized corporate hypocrisy and bourgeois pretensions; of a heart attack; in Stamford, Conn. In a typical Saxon cartoon, a pseudo aesthete asks, "Is it Manet or Monet who isn't as good as the other?"

DIED. Thornton Bradshaw, 71, courtly former Harvard Business School professor who was president of Atlantic Richfield before becoming the last chairman of RCA in 1981; of a stroke; in New York City. Bradshaw helped restore NBC to broadcasting prominence before the sale of the television network's parent company, RCA, to General Electric in 1985.

Opinions, But No Solutions

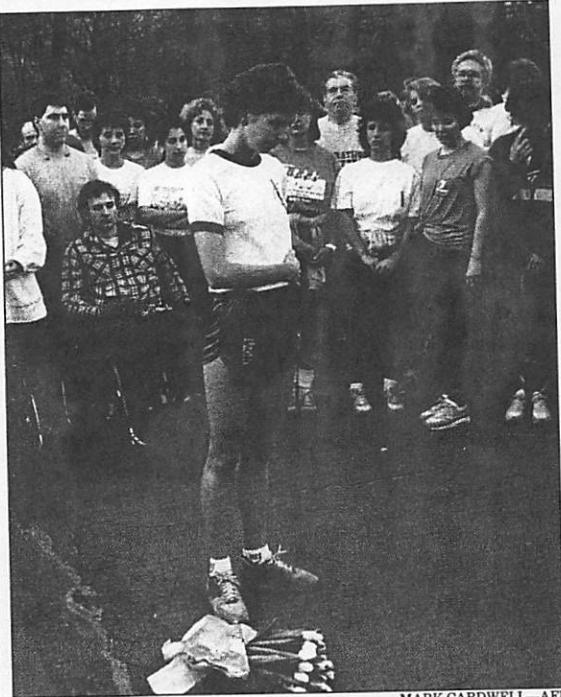
The Central Park rape sparks a war of words

The news from the hospital was encouraging. The young jogger who had been raped, beaten and left for dead in New York's Central Park emerged from her coma after two weeks. By the weekend the 28-year-old investment banker, who has suffered brain damage, was able to smile at her friends and call her father "Dad."

As the victim's condition improved, race relations in New York took a turn for the worse. The indictment of six black and Hispanic teenagers inflamed tensions in a city that has witnessed a series of divisive cases in recent years. While many whites found their unspoken fears of minority youths vindicated, a call for the death penalty by billionaire developer Donald Trump infuriated blacks already angry at the "lynch mob" mentality of the white-controlled news media. "There has been more anger than I have heard in my life about any individual crime," says veteran radio talk-show host Barry Gray. "It's 'Mississippi Burning' comes to Times Square." Some people thought the racial issues obscured the real message of the attack: that America is becoming an increasingly violent society. "This incident shows that there is an infatuation that our young people have with sex and violence," says the Rev. Calvin Butts, minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. From coffee shops to editorial pages, everyone seemed to have an opinion about the causes and implications of the brutal spree in the park:

The hard-liners: Perhaps because of an election this fall, Mayor Edward Koch and his rivals were uncharacteristically reticent. That allowed the city's self-appointed advocates to dominate the public debate. In a full-page ad that ran in four newspapers, Trump wrote, "I want to hate these murderers... I want them to be afraid." Trump says he has received "hundreds and hundreds" of letters of support (though he did say later he wasn't seeking the death penalty for minors). "I'm sick and tired of watching this kind of thing being perpetrated on an innocent public," he told NEWSWEEK.

The attack was quickly exploited by the city's loudest—and most irresponsible—black "spokesmen"—the legal team that helped turn last year's Tawana Brawley alleged-rape case into a swarm of false charges and innuendo. Attorney Alton



MARK CARDWELL—AFP

From coffee shops to editorial pages, a debate rages on: Vigil in the park, Trump with mail, Butts

Maddox Jr. attracted court officers in riot gear when he attempted to interfere with the bail hearing of three of the suspects. "I have not seen any evidence of this woman being assaulted or attacked at all," Maddox told a radio audience. "What are we going to do, accept some white person's word that she's over there... at Metropolitan Hospital?... This whole thing could be an outright hoax."

Double standard: Many blacks feel the way the media covered the story reflected a bias toward white victims—especially when the assailant is black. Black journalists questioned the mainstream media's stringent protection of the jogger's identity while it freely publicized the names of the juvenile suspects (not unusual in serious crimes). The New York Amsterdam News, a black weekly, printed the woman's name, breaking the media's self-imposed policy of protecting the privacy of rape victims. "There is a belief in our society that African-American lives are not as valuable as the lives of Caucasians," says the Rev. Lawrence Lucas, black pastor of the Resurrection Roman Catholic Church in Harlem.

Blame it on society: Since the attack, the media's portrayal of the suspects has evolved. First reports characterized the group as a vicious "wolf pack"; next, newspaper accounts painted a picture of good students of hardworking families who had inexplicably gone awry. But last week The Village Voice revealed that some of the suspected attackers were reputed troublemakers who had long terrorized the neighborhood. To explain their behavior, some



JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK



ROBERT MAASS—PHOTOREPORTER

commentators have fallen back on sociological theories that cast the attackers as victims of society. "The missing factor in many of these kids is they have never had bonding experience with another human," says Dr. Ann Jernberg of The Therapy Institute of Chicago. "They all have low esteem and an inner emptiness." Chicago Tribune columnist Mike Royko, for one, spurned such arguments. "This society has flaws. It always has," he wrote. "But I do know of any policies, official or informal, that encourage young men to hide in bushes and mutilate innocent women."

A woman's perspective: Many women, black and white, contend that the real meaning of the attack has been obscured by racial politics. They say the most disturbing aspect of the crime was the especially brutal and dehumanizing attack on a woman. "The talk about race misses the point," wrote Joanne Jacobs, a columnist for San Jose Mercury News. "The most critical element of this attack was that they were male. She was female. They were predators. She was Bambi."

The Central Park incident has sparked calls for diverse remedies: increased police protection, harsher juvenile-offender laws, greater responsiveness to inner-city problems by local officials. But New York Governor Mario Cuomo warns against simple solutions. "We're naturally trying to find a quick fix, a pill-size answer and digest it and end the matter," he says. "I am not afraid to admit I don't have the answer. I would be wary of a person who thinks he does."

GEORGE HACKETT and PETER MCKEE

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A Conflict of the Have-Nots

Blacks and Hispanics fight each other for a piece of the dream

In Los Angeles Hispanics account for more than 30 percent of the population. Yet only two Latinos sit on its 15-person city council.

Just a few years ago, black parents in Chicago booed whenever Hispanics got up to address school-board hearings in Spanish. They don't do that anymore—proof of the Latinos' growing political clout.

Once a white bastion, the Dallas neighborhood of Oak Cliff became black starting in the early 1970s. Now the community is segregated, with black neighborhoods and schools forming a ring around Hispanic neighborhoods and schools—a black-and-brown bull's-eye in the heart of the city.

Whites tend to think and speak of "minorities" as people different from themselves and similar to one another. That is not so, as ethnics know all too well. Despite certain shared setbacks and aspirations, they tend to see each other not as allies but rather as competitors for a piece of the American dream. Nowhere is this more true than in the increasingly acrimonious relations between blacks and Hispanics. As whites continue to flee from cities, members of the two groups have been left behind, watching each other warily over a deep cultural divide.

Separated by language and religion, school and neighborhood, it is sometimes difficult to see what blacks and Hispanics have in common. Hispanics bestow great importance on the traditional extended family. By contrast, says Lawrence Redlinger of the Center for Applied Research at the University of Texas, Dallas, blacks "tend to be haunted by the disappearance of the male" from the family. Often fair-skinned, Hispanics have an easier time assimilating into white society. And generally, the Latino community is more diverse than the black; unlike blacks, for example, Hispanics do not vote as a bloc. That has carried a political price. With the notable exceptions of Miami and San Antonio, Latinos as a group have been unable to



STEVE LEONARD—BLACK STAR

An unlikely accusation of 'apartheid': Coronado and Latino pupils in Chicago

come together and form a solid power base.

After years of struggle, blacks have finally acquired urban political power; black mayors govern, among other cities, Los Angeles and Chicago. Now they are being asked to "deal with this other minority that's actually growing faster than they are," says Gary Orfield, a specialist in black-Hispanic relations at the University of Chicago. "It's a bitter pill." Last week Chicago Mayor Eugene Sawyer pledged to hire Hispanics to fill at least 20 percent of municipal posts. Such accommodations are

relatively rare. Blacks accuse Hispanics of benefiting from the civil-rights movement without having had to struggle in it. Latinos, in turn, charge blacks with an unwillingness to pull themselves out of the ghetto. Conflicts between the two groups are now simmering in a number of American cities. Says William Sampson, a black urbanologist at Northwestern University: "The blowup has got to come soon." Some case studies of animus in the making:

Chicago: With an entrenched black machine and a burgeoning Hispanic population, Chicago may be heading toward confrontation. It's already begun in the schools. Linda Coronado, a Hispanic member of Chicago's Board of Education, earlier this fall accused her five black colleagues on the board of imposing "apartheid" on Hispanic children by voting to increase black enrollment in integrated schools while ignoring overcrowding among Latino students. Fighting words, they reveal the depth of bitterness between the city's two largest minorities. According to some black community leaders, Hispanics are getting preferential treatment and a disproportionate share of public dollars. But Hispanics are



STEVE STARR—PICTURE GROUP

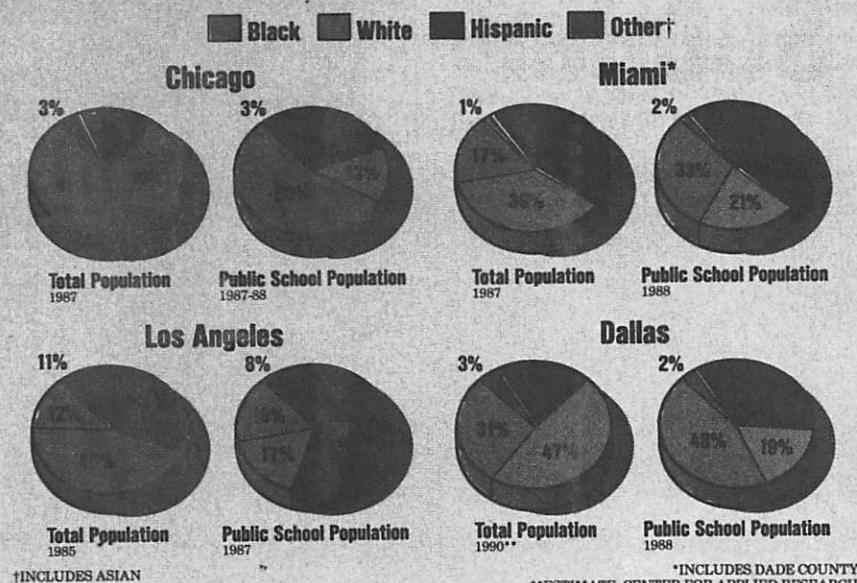


JONATHAN KIRK—PICTURE GROUP

Mayor power: Miami's Xavier Suarez, Chicago's Eugene Sawyer

Fighting for What's Been Left Behind

In Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles and Miami white students continue to abandon public schools, while blacks and Hispanics compete for scarce resources.



Small as they are, those political gains have exacerbated already strained relations with blacks. That is especially true in South Central, home to most of the state's blacks since World War II. Blacks there feel they fought long and hard for social services they can no longer use. Today, most of the women in the Martin Luther King Jr. Hospital maternity ward are Hispanic. Because Latinos tend to buy their homes, they are driving out black renters who are then forced to find cheap housing outside the city. In the process, black political power in Los Angeles itself is diminished. Says Leo Estrada, a professor at UCLA's School of Architecture and Urban Planning: "The community sees itself as under siege."

Miami: Practically a Cuban outpost on the mainland, Miami is one of very few places in the United States where Hispanics have long held political power. Blacks feel it's been at their expense. Consistently left out of the equation by both whites and Hispanics, the black community exploded in rage after a Latino police officer shot and killed a black youth in 1982. The so-called Overtown riots galvanized an effort to repair some of the bad feeling. Since then, the Hispanic community has extended a helping hand to blacks, offering entrepreneurs loans, guidance and even something of a role model. As a result, tensions have abated.

But the divisions between blacks and Hispanics—and between them and whites—remain very real. Schools are by and large segregated. Until recently, the Miami police department held three annual picnics—for whites, blacks and Hispanics. And the memory of Overtown has contributed to a lingering unease. In the aftermath of those riots, black leaders accused Hispanic cops of using excessive force in their neighborhoods. As a result, patrolmen working in black neighborhoods will soon have to take a three-day training program designed to help them better understand that community—and prevent racial outbreaks in the future.

Right now, America's have-nots are locked in mutual recrimination. That situation may change in time. Says George Munoz, a former Chicago school-board president, blacks and Hispanics "have to air out their differences first, and that hasn't been done." If and when that dialogue takes place, the stakes for all Americans will surely be high. Says Orfield of the University of Chicago: blacks and Hispanics "have to decide—does it become a bitter struggle over the crumbs that are left over, or does it become an alliance that strengthens them both?"

ELOISE SALHOLZ with TIM PADGETT
in Chicago, FRANK GIBNEY Jr.
in Dallas, CHERYL HARRISON MILLER and
BRIAN KAUFFMAN in Miami and
MICHAEL A. LERNER in Los Angeles

hardly having a field day: Latino kids frequently attend overflow classes in tin barracks hastily erected outside their schools. Sadly, blacks and Hispanics in Chicago are fighting for larger portions of a pie few others want. Whites account for only 13 percent of a public-school system (chart) that former U.S. education secretary William J. Bennett called the nation's worst.

Dallas: For two decades blacks have fought for political influence in a city built by whites for whites. Traditionally, Hispanics there have been poorly organized. But, emboldened by black advances, they recently have begun to demand a larger share of the city's economic resources and political power. Now both blacks and Hispanics are worried there may not be enough to go around. Many restaurants and construction firms prefer hiring Hispanics, who are willing to work for less money than blacks. The strains are strongest in the schools. Recently, the black community reacted angrily when some Hispanics supported a petition to lift a 1976 court order for integrating classrooms. Blacks remain better organized politically but, ultimately, it's a numbers game they may not win. Twice as many Hispanics attend Dallas public schools today as in 1976; by the year 2,000, they will be in the majority.

Leaders of both groups have made efforts to present a united front—"You don't want to give the impression that one ethnic group is fighting another over the crumbs of power," says Rene Castilla a member of

the Dallas school board. But black leaders complain that Hispanics have either sided with whites or opted out of the political struggle altogether. "The general feeling is that Hispanics are very often much more conciliatory," says Evonne Ewell, a member of the Dallas school board. "Maybe that is because they haven't paid the price we did." To one prominent Dallas Latino, the gap between the two groups may be too wide to bridge: "You go below the surface and you find that when a black says minority, they mean black, and when a Hispanic says minority, they mean Hispanic."

Los Angeles: When Jose Jimenez, 20, moved into black South Central Los Angeles eight years ago, there was only one other Latino family on the block. "You never ever saw a Hispanic kid" in the nearby park, says Jimenez. "If you did, he was getting beaten up by five or six black guys." His school was 80 percent black. Today it is 80 percent Hispanic. The transformation of South Central reflects that of Los Angeles itself, now a third Latino. But if Hispanics have the people, they don't have the power. They hold a fraction of elective positions in Los Angeles. Only recently have they begun fighting for their fair share. Community leaders, in conjunction with the Justice Department, filed and won a lawsuit to redistrict Los Angeles, thus boosting Latino representation on the city council. And they have mounted a campaign for "population parity"—an increase in county jobs proportional with their numbers.

TV's New Racial Hue

As their bottom line shrinks, the networks are stretching their color line

Flashback, late 1970s: His name is J.J., his television show is called "Good Times." He's a living racial caricature, a jiving, conniving, skirt-chasing black man who is as allergic to work as he is attracted to shady, quick-buck schemes. His favorite expression is "Dy-No-Mite." One of his many fantasies is that he might someday wake up white.

Cut to 1988: His name is Frank, as in "Frank's Place." He's a former college professor from New England who now owns a successful New Orleans restaurant. He's erudite, articulate, dignified, slyly witty and upwardly mobile. Not too mobile, however, to surrender his soul. When a snooty black men's club invites him to be its token dark-complexioned member, he indignantly informs his would-be sponsor: "All my life I've been the only black. I was the only black in *this* class. I was the only black in *that* organization ... Look, man, I'm not about to become the only black in a black club."

As you may have noticed, prime-time television is projecting a positive new image of black Americans—but it isn't because of a sudden attack of racial sensitivity. TV does as TV has always done, and that's to adjust the picture according to the bottom line. Somewhere between the end of "Good Times" and the opening of "Frank's Place" the networks made an intriguing discovery. In an average week, black viewers watch nearly 40 percent more television than the rest of the population. What's more, black households tend to be slower to purchase VCR's and be wired for cable, the two technologies that most threaten the networks' franchise. No wonder the TV industry is finally wooing black audiences. They've come to embody its favorite color, which is, of course, green.

The prime-time menu currently offers a record half dozen weekly series with predominantly black casts. That's cheering news, yet only half the story. Besides giving black faces more visibility, the networks are gradually replacing their old demeaning stereotypes—black men as jive-talking hustlers or buffoons, black women as sassy maids or mammies—with diverse, multidimensional characters. It's Bill Cosby, of course, who proved that such revisionism

could be eminently commercial. But the always-in-control Cosby also sent a message to blacks who are following him into the TV factory: to take pride in the product, one must try to influence its design.

Few try harder than Tim Reid, who plays the protagonist in "Frank's Place." CBS originally wanted to set this series in a New Orleans Cajun restaurant, but Reid, who also serves as coexecutive producer, pushed the network into a Creole-flavored locale far off the tourist track. "I wanted to show a black society ignored by TV with sensitivity and respect," he explains. "Frank's Place" drips with regional authenticity. Its down-home inhabitants are modeled after people Reid and partner Hugh Wilson encountered during New Orleans field trips, including visits to black churches and funeral homes. Its seriocomic plot lines are lovingly adorned with bits of black history: Marcus Garvey peers out from a meeting-hall wall, Muddy Waters and Louis Armstrong sweeten the sound track. Dr. Alvin Poussaint, the Harvard

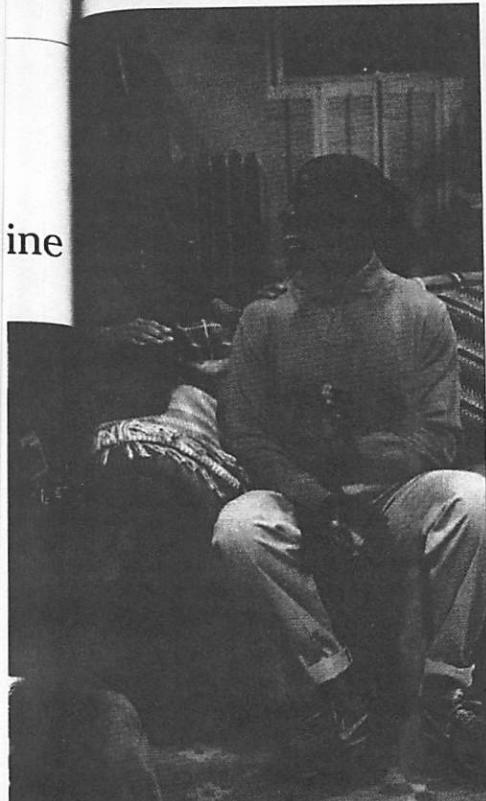


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ALLAN S. ADLER—GOLDEN GROOVE PRODUCTIONS
place of the old stereotypes, positive new
faces: Clockwise from left, Reid and
his real-life wife in 'Frank's Place,'
McGee and Walker in 'Bustin' Loose,'
Gibbs (right) in '227,' Bonet with
room mates in 'A Different World'

-NEWSWEEK



psychiatrist who acts as consultant to "The Cosby Show," believes that "Frank's Place" is "the first black program since 'Roots' to take black culture seriously. It's a breakthrough."

Marla Gibbs, the star of NBC's "227," doesn't hold any fancy producer title. But that's hardly deterred her from battling to make this working-class black sitcom reflect her own roots (she grew up just 10 blocks from the Washington, D.C., tenement in which the series is set). At the risk of rousing feminist ire, and of downplaying her own role, Gibbs insisted that the show present a traditional family power structure in which the father always has the final say. "All of us schooled by the feminist movement objected," recalls one of the show's white supervisors. "We said it's intimidating to portray such a black man. But she said that's the way it is in black households, so we did it." Gibbs also saw to it that "227" hired more black writers than any other network series, a campaign inspired by her conviction that "you can't write about something you don't have in your head."

A decidedly more upscale perspective infuses NBC's "A Different World," which follows the Huxtables' daughter Denise (Lisa Bonet) off to a ritzy black college. Never mind that Bonet's acting wouldn't qualify her for a walk-on part in a school play. This series does exactly what it sets out to do: depict a tightly bonded sisterhood of black coeds grappling with such universal educational afflictions as dormitory

curfews and calculus exams. What other prime-time entertainment ever showed us that? And where else would we encounter such a unique comedic creation as Denise's Southern-deb dorm mate (Jasmine Guy), a sort of black Scarlett O'Hara who loves to boast about her selection as Miss Magnolia? "Nobody thought of that kind of character before," says coexecutive producer Anne Beatts. "But she is very real." Like "Frank's Place," "A Different World" strives for cultural verisimilitude. The students play Motown records, and in one episode, the haunting strains of "Free Nelson Mandela" came through loud and clear.

Minstrel show: It should be noted that all this affirmative action is not without some reversion to stereotype. In NBC's "Amen," Sherman Hemsley (formerly of "The Jeffersons") has been cast as a pompous deacon who, to judge from his clownish antics, could be auditioning for a minstrel show. And the syndicated sitcom "Bustin' Loose" recycles Jimmie Walker (yes, J.J. himself) as a shiftless, wisecracking con man sentenced to help a black social worker (Vonetta McGee) raise four foster children. Still, the series busts loose from at least one video stereotype. In contrast to "Diff'rent Strokes" and "Webster," which promulgated the patronizing notion that black orphans are best off in white homes, it suggests that blacks are perfectly capable of running reconstituted families on their own. For network TV, that's a dy-no-mite advance.

Blacks, of course, are scarcely the only minority to feel shortchanged by their small-screen images. Hispanic viewers have long found themselves typecast as drug pushers, gang leaders, prostitutes and illegal aliens. Yet here, too, reform is in the airwaves, and once again it's being driven by economics. The box-office success of "La Bamba" and "Born in East L.A." have convinced the networks that the nation's 25 million Hispanics make up an enormous, untapped market. This spring ABC will unveil "Juarez," a slick dramatic series about a Mexican-born El Paso detective (Benjamin Bratt) who, according to the show's producer, possesses the personality of a "Hispanic Hamlet." Also in the works is "Trial and Error," a CBS sitcom about a pair of mismatched East Los Angeles roommates. Their ethnicity, however, will be carefully understated. Explains co-creator Jerry Perzigian: "You don't serve the Mexican-American community with wetback



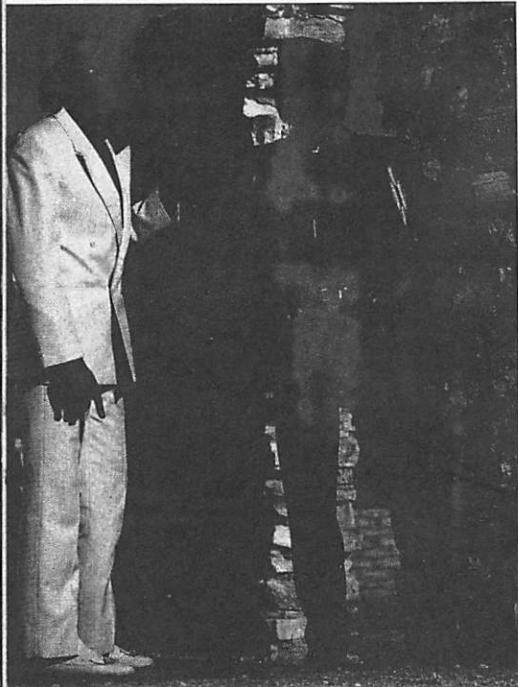
RON TOM—NBC

and tortilla jokes. We're doing a buddy comedy about two guys who happen to be Hispanic."

While that approach sounds like a step forward, it is, in fact, considerably controversial. Ever since the premiere of "The Cosby Show," some critics (mostly white) have charged that TV's new minority-oriented offerings play too colorlessly. It is their contention that these series, by ignoring such pervasive black plights as discrimination and poverty, convey a spuriously idealized picture of the black experience. That claim, however, is regarded by other observers (mostly nonwhite) as just another form of racism. Television, they point out, is primarily an escapist medium. To expect black shows to exactly mirror black life is to impose a double standard. Were "Ozzie and Harriet" or "I Love Lucy" ever required to pass a reality test?

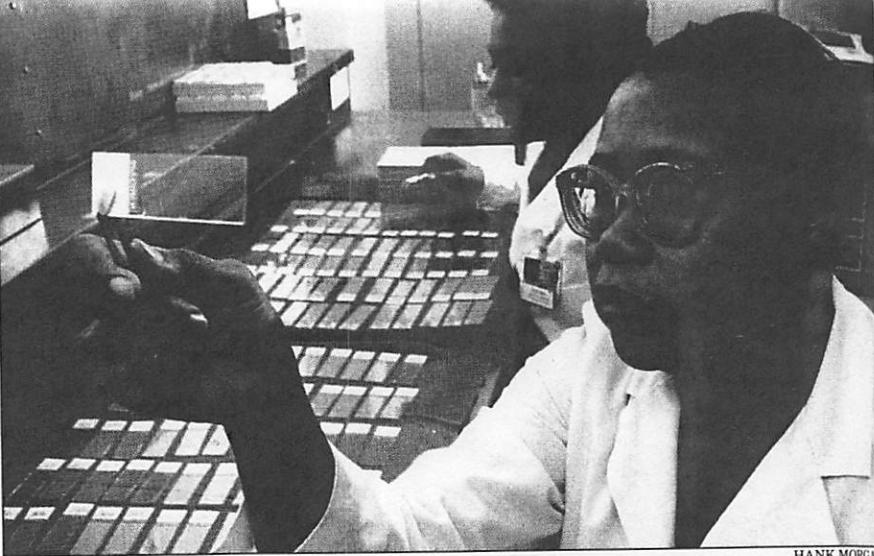
Both sides at least agree on what's left to accomplish. As far as television's color barrier has been pushed back, it's been pushed only halfway. Black performers remain, by and large, locked into the tube's sitcom ghetto. "TV is a leading force for blacks in the area of comedy," notes NAACP official Willis Edwards. "But we aren't a people just to be laughed at. Everything in our lives is not funny." The problem seems analogous to that of major-league baseball: there are lots of blacks on the playing fields yet virtually none in the front offices. True integration will come to prime time only when the networks dare to admit some black Grant Tinkers.

HARRY F. WATERS with
JANET HUCK in Los Angeles



TIMOTHY WHITE

A 'Hispanic Hamlet': Banda (right)



HANK MORGAN

Looking for subtle cell patterns: Lab technician studies a test slide

HEALTH

Questions About the Pap Test

Is it accurate, and should it be done every year?

On the familiarity scale, Dr. George Papanicolaou's name doesn't rank with that of Dr. Jonas Salk. But the test he devised for detecting cancer of the cervix is known to nearly every woman in the civilized world. Indeed, the Pap test ranks alongside Salk's polio vaccine as a landmark in preventive medicine. Deaths from cancer of the uterus and cervix among U.S. women have fallen 70 percent during the last four decades to less than 10,000 a year, largely because of the early detection the test made possible. "It has been the most dramatic thing we've ever seen in cancer control," says Dr. Charles Smart of the National Cancer Institute.

But the Pap test has also stirred up controversy of late. Some experts charge that the tests are often misinterpreted by overworked technicians, with potentially fatal results. According to some estimates, 10 to 15 percent of cervical cancers are not detected by a Pap smear. Last week the American Medical Association's House of Delegates asked the AMA's scientific council to launch a study to determine how serious the problem of such "false negatives" really is.

Even if a false-negative reading does not result in death, it still masks a disease that can be devastating. In 1986 Linda Robinson, a 40-year-old San Francisco mother of two, had an apparently normal Pap test. But when she later underwent surgery to remove a cyst from her ovary, doctors found evidence of cancer. Three successive Pap tests were negative and failed to show that the cancer had started

in the cervix. Back pain sent her for more tests, and a biopsy showed she had cervical cancer. Last December Robinson underwent a radical hysterectomy and removal of her bladder. "Right now, I'm thankful to be alive," she says.

How often a woman should get the Pap test is the source of more controversy. Since 1980 the American Cancer Society has suggested that a woman who shows negative tests two years in a row need only get one every three years thereafter. The ACS based its recommendation on a cost-benefit analysis by Dr. David Eddy of Duke University. From the standpoint of early detection, Eddy estimated that annual testing added only four days to the average woman's life expectancy at a total cost of \$6 billion a year. Relatively few lethal cancers would be missed and total costs reduced to \$2 billion, he predicted, if women had tests at three-year intervals.

However, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists—and many private practitioners—have continued to advocate annual testing. "People don't respond like mathematical models," says ACOG spokesman Dr. Jack Graham. "We were afraid if we were to advocate longer intervals between screenings, the patient would take even longer ones." After years of discussion, ACS and ACOG this week will announce a compromise joint recommendation. After three consecutive annual tests prove normal, says the new guideline, a woman can space them at longer intervals at the discretion of her doctor.

The individual physician's participation

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(TNB MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY & THE NEW MEDIA.)

The 1967 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders & The Role of the media:

The 1967 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders leveled an accusing finger at the news media for its role in alternately ignoring and abusing the minority situation in the U.S. and for contributing to the atmosphere of racial tension without actually addressing the grievances of the minority community.¹

In this discussion I will take a brief look at the treatment that the Chicano community has received from the Anglo Press and look at a possible Chicano response. To formulate this Chicano response I will challenge two fundamental beliefs of the Anglo Press.

A short history of the media coverage afforded the Chicano community:

A short history of the media coverage afforded the Chicano community is quite possible because, with the exception of periodic "Race Riots" and other disturbances, the Chicano community did not exist in Anglo news media before the 1960's. The head of mass communication at the school of Journalism at USC, Felix Gutierrez writes:

A survey of magazine citations in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature from 1890 to 1970 reveals very few articles about Latinos in the United States. Articles that were listed often had a crisis or negative overtone. That is, they were written during periods when Mexican labor or immigration impacted national policy or when Latinos were involved in civil strife.²

Mexican-American Community Ignored Except When Troublesome:

Thus, for the Anglo press, media coverage of the Chicano community began in 1848 as a brief footnote regarding some desert territory won in a military skirmish. The media coverage then fell silent, with the exception of periodic memos regarding a few troublemakers, until said troublemakers became unavoidably audible during the 1960's.

The Press' Reaction When The Chicano Community Speaks Out:

What was the Anglo news media's reaction to the now vocal Chicano community? One time Los Angeles Times writer, Ruben Salazar once noted:

The media, having ignored the Mexican-Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story. It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican-American is not amused that under the serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo.³

What Is Important To The Chicano Community Is Ignored:

In a nutshell, the Chicano complaint is that the Anglo Press not only ignores the issues that are important to the Chicano community but habitually portray the Chicano community in a poor light. Felix Gutierrez writes:

"Coverage of Latinos in Anglo media has increased with the population growth [of Latinos]. But news reporters still tend to place too much emphasis on stories featuring "problem people"---Latinos either causing or beset by problems, such as undocumented residents, youth gangs, or recent arrivals. Other stories often have a "zoo appeal" by featuring Latinos on national holidays, celebrating cultural fiestas, or in their native costumes. While more examples of accurate news reporting can be found now than in earlier periods, the media's preoccupation with "problem people" and "zoo stories" ignores many of the important daily happenings in the Latino community."⁴

The White Man's Bias:

The complaint is this: though the Chicano community has been a part of this country's heritage for a long time (predating Jamestown) and though Chicanos have given their lives in this country's wars, something as simple as acknowledging their egalitarian existence seems forever beyond their reach.⁵ And in their day to day existence they are reminded of this fact by the continued absence of their presence, as anything other than troublemakers, in the Anglo press. Very much parallel to the treatment of the Black community by the Anglo press, statements made in the 1967 Kerner Commission Report could be applied to the Chicano community:

The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls "the white man's press"---a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. This may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society. . . . Most newspaper articles and most television programming ignore the fact that an appreciable part of their audience is black. The world that television and newspapers offer to their black audience is almost totally white, in both appearance and attitude.⁶

The Problem of Assimilation:

For the Anglo, however, the problem isn't so much equal time in the Press but that the Chicano community seems adamant about not assimilating. Francisco Lewels in his book The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement: A Study in Minority Access writes:

When Dr. Jack Forbes, sociologist, testified at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearing in San Antonio, Texas in 1968, he was asked by the General Counsel, "Why hasn't the Mexican-American assimilated in the Southwest?" he answered, "Excuse me, sir, but that is the wrong question. Why hasn't the Anglo assimilated?"

Perhaps the point Forbes was trying to make was that not only are Mexican-Americans equal in numbers in some places in the Southwest to the Anglos, but they were there first and, whereas most can speak some English, relatively few Anglos can speak Spanish.⁷

For the Anglo and the Anglo press, their own culture is the American culture. And not only is their culture the American culture, but being the American culture it is the superior culture.

[Our society] equates Anglo-American origin and Anglo-American ways with virtue, with goodness, even with political purity. Other cultures are not merely different; they are inferior. They must be wiped out, not only for the good of the country, but for the good of the child. Not only must he learn to speak English; he must stop speaking anything else.⁸ [[ibid.]]

Those are not the words of some neo-Nazi but of the former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II. The Anglo culture suffers from an unfortunate strain of color blindness that associates only white with right. And as long as it is under the influence of this myopia they simply cannot see the difference between their Anglo culture and the mythical American "melting pot."

Two Fundamental Beliefs In The News Media:

There are two factors that I see standing in the way of the Chicano community getting fair treatment in the Anglo news media. The first is this confused identification of the "American Way" with the Anglo culture. The second is with regards to the myth of objectivity that the modern news media foists upon the reading public.

Objectivity And "The American Way":

The press . . . must print the truth fully and fearlessly. It must not print biased propaganda as news. It must give the public accurate information. It must open columns to free and illuminating discussion. It must do its full and impartial duty in enabling the citizenry to conduct their democratic government wisely and successfully. [[Coblenz p. 41.]]

The First Commandment of the Fourth Estate, in the words of William Randolph Hearst, is objectivity. Objectivity is the cornerstone of the modern news media. If anyone should know about the modern news media it would have been William Randolph Hearst. He certainly owned enough newspapers to put his principles into practice. Observe, for example, how he handled the Los Angeles Race Riots in the 1940's:

~~Guy Endore~~, one of the chief protagonists for the ~~Sleepy Lagoon~~ Defense Committee, maintains that the crime wave was the result of a directive from Hearst himself to all hearst editors. According to Endore the teletype message from Hearst read:

" . . . Chief suggest L.A. editors make survey of crime reports---all types--with particular emphasis on numbers of police bookings of Mexican and Negro citizens---and or aliens. Chief suggests L.A. editors transmit findings to all other Hearst editors."

Even though there was no actual evidence of a crime wave among Chicano youth, the press was able to fabricate one by running sensationalized stories and getting 'stooges,' prominent personalities anxious for publicity, to make statements about Mexican crime.

". . . even if there is no Mexican crime, there's nothing to stop you from printing what these prominent citizens are saying about Mexican crime, even if it is to the effect that it is nothing to be worried about. All this is printed under some sort of scare headline calculated to give the hurried reader the impression that Mexican crime is a real problem." [[Mirande p. 79.]]

Well, obviously, objectivity is in the eye of the beholder.

Dan Schiller writes in a book titled, Objectivity And the News:

An invisible frame brackets news reports as a particular kind of public knowledge and a key category in popular epistemology. News reports repeatedly claim that, ideally at least, they recount events without the intrusion of value judgements or symbols. News is a map, a veridical representation, a report on reality, and hence not really a story at all, but merely the facts---this is the claim. But news---akin to any literary or cultural form---must rely upon conventions. Formally created and substantially embodied conventions alone can be used to contrive the illusion of objectivity. How else could we recognize news as a form of knowledge? [[Schiller. pp. 1-2.]]

Reality & Objectivity:

Reality is a multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. News writing is a linear abstraction of this multi-directional multi-sensual phenomenon. Something of the Reality is stripped away and something of the writer is added in its conversion to becoming a "news story." More specifically, our cognition and therefore our recording of the Reality is at best an approximation of the Reality. There are more accurate and less accurate approximations, but in all cases, something is stripped away and something is added.

Is it surprising than that the Anglo news media reflects the prejudices, interests or ideas of the Anglo culture (although it may be more accurate to identify these prejudices, interests or ideas with its buying public)? Would anyone be surprised that if the shoe were on the other foot and the Chicano media were in a position of dominance that it would reflect the prejudices, interests or ideas of the associated Chicano culture? Therefore, the Chicano's cry of unfair to the Anglo news media is true only

in terms of the Anglo news media's claim to complete objectivity.

So the Anglo news media stands behind its ill-conceived belief in the "American Way" and the "Myth of Objectivity," all the while telling the Chicano community that denial of the Chicano community's heritage is required before it can become anything more, for example, than a crime story for the Metro section of the Los Angeles Times.

Assimilate Or Segregate:

Assimilate or segregate. The Kerner Commission found in the late 60's, neither course will create the kind of response that would satisfy the Chicano community. Both responses render the Chicano culture as being something inferior to the dominant Anglo culture, the first by robbing the Chicano of his ethnic heritage and the second by denying the Chicano access to the cultural mainstream.⁹

With regards to the Chicano community and the Anglo news media, I have to reject any view that would call for the assimilation of the Chicano into the Anglo press or the other view that would be satisfied with an alternative Press. For the same reasons listed above in terms of ones ethnic identity such an either/or approach perpetuates the "Chicano/inferiority" myth.

As such I believe that the course of action to take is integration without assimilation. Integration without assimilation is socially revisionistic. Beginning from a position of personally appreciating our personal ethnic heritage (which we alone bear the responsibility of educating ourselves in) and recognizing the foreign nature of the dominant culture and the paradigms that its News Media operates under, integration without assimilation adds one more facet to the heterogeneous nature of the dominant culture. Los Angeles Times editorial writer, Frank del Olmo urges Chicano activists:

Try to understand the inner workings of the media, and to cooperate with reporters and editors rather than criticizing them. I also advise against confrontational-style tactics, such as boycotts, which can be counterproductive.

If the news media are going to change, the most effective pressure for change will come from inside the profession, among journalists themselves, rather than from outside pressure groups. And the best way to make the news media more sensitive to minority groups is to have more Latinos and other minority people in the newsroom.¹⁴ [[Frank del Olmo. "Changing World: Latinos and the Media." Los Angeles Times. April 24, 1987. part II, p. 13.]]

The Mexican Americans Engaged in the News Media

Only eight percent of those working within the ranks of profession journalism coming from minority communities (not mentioning how small the Chicano representation is) from a national population of 18%, the infiltration or integration without assimilation tactic has not been fully implemented. Granted, it is a very slow method with all of the limitations of working within a foreign framework. But this method is more realistic, having better long range benefits, in view of the fact that it reflects the kind of dialogue that must take place on a social/cultural level between the Anglo culture and the other ethnic cultures. In a society that calls itself Democratic, the rights must be balanced with the responsibilities between and within groups, or else we will always have the kind of divided society that sparked the Anger of 1967 riots.¹⁶ [[del Olmo, part II, p. 13.]]

1. United States. Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 382ff.
2. Felix Gutierrez. "Latinos and the Media" in Readings in Mass Communications: Concepts & Issues in the Mass Media. 5th edition. eds., Micheal Emery and Ted Curtis. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1983). p. 165.
3. Gutierrez. p. 166.
4. Gutierrez. p. 166.
5. David Villar Ruiz. A Soul in Exile: A Chicano Lost in Occupied Land. (Los Angeles: Vantage Press, 1981).
6. United States. Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968). pp. 366, 383.
7. Francisco J. Lewels, Jr. The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement: A Study in Minority Access. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974). p. 10.
8. I operate as a writer under the philosophy of Fairness. That is, because true objectivity is an impossibility, than in an atmosphere of controversy or non-resolution, major points of view should be aired with special attention toward their *Emic* values. I have adapted this view from that of Joseph Farrar, Executive News Editor of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

9. [Tom Wicker writes in the Introduction to the Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders (p. vii):

Conceivably the nation could continue its present failing efforts toward an integrated society, including the present proportion of its resources devoted to social and economic programs; or it could abandon integration as a goal and commit increased resources to "enrichment" of life in the ghetto thus presumably making it bearable without producing violence against white society. The first of these is hopeless; not only will it tend to produce more and more ghetto violence but it is an obvious fraud, in terms of its ability to produce anything like integration . . .

The second course is rejected here with equal frankness, as simply another method of producing a permanently divided society.]]

immigrants, the County risks great human and financial costs."¹⁷ The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies report adds that if there are unmet bills in the County's public service budget, that the County reach an agreement with the Federal or State governments for more support. Of the undocumented workers tax dollar 58% goes to the Federal government and 33% goes to the State government---and because undocumented workers tend to not file for their income tax refund the funds should be there to be channeled back to the county agency providing the service.¹⁸

The issue of employment displacement is a bit trickier to determine than the tax/public service question.¹⁹ The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies begins this section of their report with a large disclaimer citing the lack of substantial hard evidence to bolster the various positions. That said the Center feels that because the portion of the job market occupied by the undocumented workers is in areas long since abandoned by legal workers that there is no direct competition between the native and the immigrant workers. As to the small wage generally paid to the undocumented workers, the Center feels that this is part of the contract/sub-contract nature of the jobs (eg., in the garment industry) and the small size of the firms that the

¹⁷Task Force, p. 12.

¹⁸Wayne Cornelius, Leo R. Chavez and Jorge Castro, Mexican Immigrants and Southern California: A Summary of Current Knowledge, Research Report Series, 36 (La Jolla, Calif: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1982), pp. 53ff.

¹⁹"Do I even want to get into this?

immigrant workers find themselves in. Regardless of whether the workers are legal or otherwise, the Center felt that piece-meal type sub-contract jobs would force the wage below acceptable levels. And because of the low wage, native minority workers, the ones who would most likely compete with the immigrant workers, are not attracted to this work.²⁰ And while immigrant workers have been used to break strike deadlocks the 1986 Amnesty Act makes it a less viable option for the unscrupulous employer.

The fact of the matter is that the undocumented worker makes the difficult journey North for the same reasons that the Founding Fathers broke their ties with Mother England, "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." He or she is simply looking for a job, for a way to support their family, and make a better go at life than can be had in their homeland. It is a colossal case of misplaced self-importance to think that the undocumented worker endures that life threatening journey²¹ because the U.S. is such a neat place to live. He or she is just looking for work.

As such it seems rather inconsistent that in this Nation of Immigrants that this activity is considered illegal, like theft or assault and battery. Without removing reasonable regulations the Federal government needs to decriminalize the immigration experience. It's a great deal easier to keep tabs on those not

²⁰Cornelius, pp. 29ff.

²¹John Davidson, The Long Road North (Austin, Texas: Texas Monthly Press, Inc., 1981).